

growing, vibrant economy, and it darn sure is not growing much when you have trade policies that move America's strength overseas.

I will return to the floor with other presentations on trade, along with proposed solutions. I appreciate your indulgence.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 3½ minutes as in the morning hour.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTE TO GEN. CARL MUNDY, COMMANDANT OF THE U.S. MARINE CORPS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize one of this country's most distinguished military leaders, Gen. Carl E. Mundy, 30th Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps. General Mundy is retiring after 38 distinguished years of service to our country during which he has served this Nation honorably in a number of very important posts. Among these are the commanding general of the Fleet Marine Force Atlantic, the II Marine Expeditionary Force, and the Allied Command Atlantic Marine Striking Force. General Mundy has received numerous decorations for his service including the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, and the Purple Heart which he received while serving in the jungles of Vietnam.

Mr. President, General Mundy is a leader, visionary, and a warrior. As he completes his watch, he leaves behind a Corps of Marines that is ready to respond instantly to the Nation's "911" calls, relevant to meet the defense needs of the Nation into the next century, and capable of meeting the requirements of today's national military strategy.

As Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Mundy has been a central figure in shaping the post-cold-war military. He has acted as a principal author on a number of key Department of Defense white papers. Among these papers, "From the Sea" and "Forward . . . From the Sea," have been instrumental in outlining the future role of naval and marine forces. He has been a tireless spokesman for the Department of Defense and has traveled extensively throughout the country to speak to citizens on key issues related to national security.

Mr. President, it is with deep regret that I wish General Mundy and his wife, Linda, farewell. He has always provided us the benefits of his great wisdom. He has continuously lived up to the Marine Corps motto: Semper Fidelis.

Mr. President, General Mundy is truly one of the few, one of the proud.

He is, and always will be, a U.S. marine. Our Nation is proud of him, and we wish him well in the future.

I yield the floor. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE U.N. CHARTER

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, 50 years ago today, the victorious nations of World War II gathered in San Francisco to sign the charter that created the new United Nations. It was a time of enormous hope and promise, and the world's expectations ran high. No country had more influence in shaping that international organization than the United States. From the details in the charter to the name of the new organization itself, American leadership—then at its strongest on the heels of victory in the war—was everywhere in evidence. Just as American hesitation doomed the League of Nations a quarter-century earlier, so American leadership in 1945 gave the world the United Nations.

I would like, Mr. President, today to express a strong belief that America must again lead in the significant reforms that are now necessary to save this valuable organization for generations to come.

There is much criticism of the United Nations, and much of that is well-deserved. The Secretariat has ballooned into a collection of bloated, often ill-operated bureaucracies. The structure of the Security Council reflects a by-gone era. The Trusteeship Council has outlived its usefulness.

There is mismanagement, waste, and general lack of accountability. Too often, there is no focus and no real sense of priorities.

But there also is much muddled thinking in America's approach to the United Nations. In much of the country—including Washington—there is much misunderstanding and confusion about the organization's purposes and structures. The standards by which we judge its success or failure have become unrealistic. And there are some who would take us again down the failed path of the League of Nations and sacrifice a valuable international organization for domestic political gain. I believe we must fix the United Nations, and only the United States can provide the leadership to get the job done. There are several reforms that I think we can achieve without amending the charter.

First, we should lead those reforms that can be accomplished without amending the charter. I have joined with Congressman LEE HAMILTON, the

ranking member of the International Relations Committee in the House of Representatives, in putting forward some thoughts on reforms that can be accomplished without opening the Pandora's box of amending the charter. Let me summarize some of the suggestions:

First, focus on the core agencies. The United Nations today has more than 70 agencies under its umbrella. We would finance only a handful of agencies that serve core purposes of the organization, for instance the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], the World Health Organization, and the High Commission on Refugees. Other agencies should be abolished, merged, or financed at the discretion of one or more of the core agencies.

Second, peacekeeping. This is a difficult one, Mr. President. In the heady days of the cold war, and after the cold war, expectations for peacekeeping grew far out of control. But the truth is that peacekeeping has inherent limits, and many of the failed hybrid operations we have undertaken—such as nation building in Somalia—which probably ultimately turned out to be better than was assumed at the time that the forces were withdrawn, and peace enforcement in Bosnia—which has ignored those limits. Future peacekeeping should be limited to classic operations.

Third, conferences. Conferences have come to dominate far too much of the United Nations time, resources, and attention. The United Nations should get out of the conference business and focus itself on more meaningful activities. Otherwise, we run the risk of just being a traveling road show from summit to summit.

Last, accountability. Today, the United Nations is accountable to no one. We should significantly strengthen the Office of the Inspector General and give it some real teeth. The member states should also reform the process by which they select the Secretary-General, to ensure that his or her accountability and selection is primarily one of skills and ability to administer the Organization.

I think this is enormously important and probably very difficult to achieve. It is one of the more sensitive areas to deal with, and yet it is the key to making much of it work as it should.

I think we should take the lead in reforms that would require amending the charter. I, for one, believe membership in the Security Council should be reformed to better reflect the realities of contemporary international politics.

Nations such as Japan and Germany, which pay large portions of the U.N.'s bills and are powerful international players, should have permanent seats on the Council; and, of course, the Charter's reference to them as enemy states should be struck. The number of nonpermanent members should be expanded to better accommodate major regional powers.

We should also eliminate the Trusteeship Council established to handle

the problems of decolonization. It has outlived its purpose. Rather than search for a new purpose for this Council, we should ask whether it should exist at all.

Mr. President, the other major area for reform is in our thinking about what the United Nations is and what its role should be in American foreign policy. We cannot expect the United Nations to be clearer in purpose than is its most powerful member state.

At its core, the United Nations is a collection of sovereign states and is beholden to them for guidance, funding, and, ultimately, legitimacy. The political decisions that drive the Organization and define its proper role in international politics must be made in national capitals, not in New York.

I have grown increasingly concerned about the tendency toward a fuzzy multilateralism that has come to mark U.N. policy toward the United Nations. We have shown a penchant for dumping difficult problems in the lap of the United Nations and then complaining when no solution is forthcoming. The tragedy in former Yugoslavia may be the most dramatic current example of this phenomena. The truth is, we cannot so easily wash our hands of difficult decisions.

The United Nations is not a substitute for American leadership in international affairs. Rather, it is one avenue available to exercise that leadership.

I believe we must own up to the truth about our role in the United Nations. The United Nations has many failures, but we fool ourselves if we merely point fingers at New York and blame the United Nations for its shortcomings. The United States is first among equals in the U.N. system. The failures of the United Nations are, in reality, our own.

We would do well to reflect honestly on that unavoidable truth. On this golden anniversary, we must decide whether we will continue to muddle along, or whether the United States once again will assume its unique mantle of leadership at the United Nations. I, for one, believe we must lead.

CONGRATULATING THE SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY TEAM

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, on Saturday South Africa defeated heavily favored New Zealand in the world rugby championship. I rise today to congratulate the South African rugby team, as well as the people of South Africa, on this historic victory.

For years, because of its apartheid policies, South Africa has stood on the outside of international sports competitions. From the Olympics to the World Cup, South Africa—a country of intense sports fans—had become isolated and banned from many competitions. And more than most other sports, rugby had become closely associated with the former white government and its apartheid policies.

After this history, the image of President Nelson Mandela—a man imprisoned for 27 years in his fight against apartheid—handing the World Cup trophy to the white captain of the rugby team is indeed a powerful symbol of the dramatic changes in South Africa. Throughout the country, whites and blacks alike celebrated the victory of the Springboks, the mascot of the national team.

Mr. President, I join with the international community in congratulating the people of South Africa on winning the rugby World Cup. It has been a dramatic and historic time in South Africa. This victory, bringing together all South Africans, exemplifies the progress to date and the hope for the future of a great country.

CYBERPORN

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, there is an article from Time magazine and an article from the Spectator magazine that I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, this morning I want to speak on a topic that has received a lot of attention around here lately. My topic is cyberporn, and that is, computerized pornography. I have introduced S. 892, entitled the Protection of Children from Computer Pornography Act of 1995.

This legislation is narrowly drawn. It is meant to help protect children from sexual predators and exposure to graphic pornography.

Mr. President, Georgetown University Law School has released a remarkable study conducted by researchers at Carnegie Mellon University. This study raises important questions about the availability and the nature of cyberporn. It is this article I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

Later on, on this subject, some time during the middle of July, I will be conducting hearings before the full Judiciary Committee to fully and completely explore these issues. In the meantime, I want to refer to the Carnegie Mellon study, and I want to emphasize that this is Carnegie Mellon University. This is not a study done by some religious organization analyzing pornography that might be on computer networks.

The university surveyed 900,000 computer images. Of these 900,000 images, 83.5 percent of all computerized photographs available on the Internet are pornographic. Mr. President, I want to repeat that: 83.5 percent of the 900,000 images reviewed—these are all on the Internet—are pornographic, according to the Carnegie Mellon study.

Now, of course, that does not mean that all of these images are illegal under the Constitution. But with so many graphic images available on com-

puter networks, I believe Congress must act and do so in a constitutional manner to help parents who are under assault in this day and age. There is a flood of vile pornography, and we must act to stem this growing tide, because, in the words of Judge Robert Bork, it incites perverted minds. I refer to Judge Bork from the Spectator article that I have permission to insert in the RECORD.

My bill, again, is S. 892, and provides just this sort of constitutional, narrowly focused assistance in protecting children, while also protecting the rights of consenting adults to transmit and receive protected pornographic material—protected, that is, under the first amendment.

Also, according to the Carnegie Mellon University study, cyberporn is really big business. Some computer networks which specialize in computer pornography take in excess of \$1 million per year.

Later this week, I am going to introduce the Antielectronic Racketeering Act of 1995 which will target organized crime which has begun to use the awesome powers of computers to engage in criminal activity.

As we all know from past debates in this body, organized crime is heavily involved in trafficking illegal pornography. The Antielectronic Racketeering Act will put a dent into that.

In closing, Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to give this study by Carnegie Mellon University serious consideration, and I urge my colleagues to support S. 892. I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Spectator, Feb. 4, 1995]

AN ELECTRONIC SINK OF DEPRAVITY

NEW YORK.—If last year it was merely modish to be seen speeding down the information superhighway, this year it is fast becoming essential, at least in America. Hitch your wagon to cyberspace, says the new Speaker of the House, Mr. Newt Gingrich, and your democracy will become absolute, with all America joined together for the first time into one vast and egalitarian town meeting.

Mr. Gingrich made this all clear two weeks ago when he unveiled a new system for bringing Congress to the electronically connected populace, which in honour of President Jefferson is called "Thomas". Anyone with a computer and a modem at home or in the office (or even up in the skies, courtesy of USAir's new back-of-the-seat telescopes) may now, with only the click of a few buttons, find the text of any bill, any resolution, any government statement.

Mr. Gingrich is hugely excited by this idea—going so far as to suggest, and not at all facetiously, that perhaps every citizen be given a thousand-dollar tax deduction to allow him to buy himself a laptop computer. Thus will all America be conjoined, he argues, and thus will its democracy be ever strengthened as in no other country on earth.

Fine, say I, and not just because I will become richer by \$1,000. For the last three years or so I have been a dedicated and enthusiastic user of the Internet. (The Internet—"the net" to those in the know—began innocently enough 20 years ago as a vast worldwide network of computers, linked together by government-funded telephone